

Title	On Predication in Augmented Absolute Adjuncts : Toward the Unified Licensing Condition of Secondary Predication
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ON PREDICATION IN AUGMENTED ABSOLUTE ADJUNCTS: TOWARD THE UNIFIED LICENSING CONDITION OF SECONDARY PREDICATION*

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the issue of how the predication is established in augmented absolute adjuncts, whose examples are shown in (1). Augmented absolute adjuncts have the form *with-DP-Predicate*, and the predicate is selected from various categories: adjectives, prepositions, and participles.

- (1) a. *Adjectives*
With the children *asleep*, Mary watched TV. (Stump 1985: 1)
- b. *Prepositions*
With John *at the wheel*, there wouldn't have been any problem.
(ibid.: 13)
- c. *Present Participles*
With the reeds now *chanting and shouting*, Bowie released an
assemblage of blats and growls and yells. (ibid.: 12)
- d. *Past Participles*
With her hair *braided*, Jane must resemble Mary. (ibid.: 273)

Nouns, verbs, and adverbs are not compatible with this type of adjuncts.

- (2) a. *Indefinite Nouns*
* John returned from the battle field **with himself *a war hero***.
- b. *Definite Nouns*
* Mary was accused of the incident **with herself *the criminal***.
- c. *Verbs*
* **With the reeds now *chant and shout***, Bowie released an

* I am grateful to Bernadette Denston for contributing to this study as an informant. All of the remaining errors and inadequacies are of course mine.

- assemblage of blats and growls and yells.
- d. *Adverbs*
- * Hold the pillow overhead and stand **with feet widely**.
(cf. Hold the pillow overhead and stand **with feet wide**. (COCA))

This paper aims to examine whether the condition for secondary predication that I have proposed in Yamaguchi (2015a, 2015b and 2016) is applicable to augmented absolute adjuncts. I have assumed that secondary predicates carry uninterpretable ϕ -features, and that the features are valued by the semantic subjects of the secondary predicates. Through this Agreement of the ϕ -feature, the predication between the predicates and their semantic subjects is established. In this paper, I claim that the same Agreement can account for the predication in augmented absolute adjuncts.

If I claim that the same Agreement pattern captures the predication in the adjuncts, I must argue that the predicates that can be employed in the predication in question have to contain an uninterpretable ϕ -feature. Although English generally does not have an overt ϕ -feature agreement, other languages that have overt ϕ -feature agreement will be the pieces of evidence for the existence of uninterpretable ϕ -features, and I assume that this result is applicable to any language, including English.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the predication condition in Yamaguchi (2015a) and others. Section 3 focuses on the way to testify the existence of uninterpretable ϕ -features. Section 4 provides data from languages other than English to show that adjectives, prepositions, and participles have uninterpretable ϕ -features, and argue that the predication in augmented absolute adjuncts can be captured in the same way as secondary predication. Section 5 focuses on the reason why nouns, verbs and adverbs are ruled out in augmented absolute adjuncts. Finally, section 6 concludes the paper.

2 THE LICENSING CONDITION FOR SECONDARY PREDICATION

This section focuses on the condition for secondary predication. It has been observed in the literature that secondary predicates are inflected in accordance with their semantic subjects. English does not overtly exhibit agreement; therefore, the data from other languages are provided below.

First, take a look at resultative constructions.

- (3) a. Ho dipinto l'armadio troppo scuro.
have-1st.SG paint-P.P. the.closet too dark-MASC.SG.
'I painted the closet too dark.'
(Napoli 1992: 85)
- b. Ha dipinto la macchina rossa.
have-3rd.SG paint-P.P. the.car red-FEM.SG.
'He painted the car red.'
(ibid.: 65)

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The examples in (3) are the resultative constructions in Italian, and as we can see, the resultative predicates *scuro* ‘dark’ and *rossa* ‘red’ are inflected in accordance with their semantic subjects.

Second, depictive predicates in depictive constructions also exhibit overt agreement. Take (4) for example.

- (4) a. Mi madre compró la lavadora rota.
 my mother bought the washing.machine broken.FEM.SG
 ‘My mother bought the washing machine broken.’
 (Demonte 1988: 2)
- b. Juan_i sirvió la carne_k pasada_k disgustado_j.
 Juan served the meat overcooked.FEM.SG angry.MASC.SG
 ‘Juan served the meat overcooked angry.’ (Mallen 1991: 386)

These data are from Spanish, and they show that depictive predicates also have to be inflected.

The data in (3) and (4) indicate that secondary predicates need to show agreement with their semantic subjects, and I have claimed that these predicates should carry uninterpretable ϕ -features since in the syntactic fields the agreement phenomena are explained in terms of the ϕ -feature agreement. Making use of the ϕ -feature agreement, the condition for secondary predication should be as follows:

- (5) *The Condition for Secondary Predication*
 The predication relationship between a secondary predicate α and its semantic subject β can be established if:
- α carries an uninterpretable ϕ -feature $[u\phi]$, and β carries an interpretable ϕ -feature $[i\phi]$, and
 - the $[u\phi]$ of α is valued by the $[i\phi]$ of β .

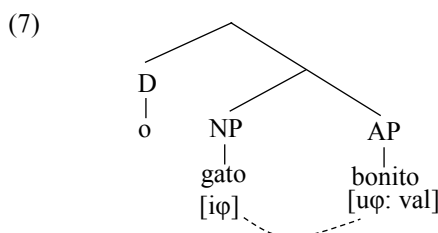
Therefore, the condition in (5) can be applied to augmented absolute adjuncts if the predicates in the adjuncts carry uninterpretable ϕ -features. However, to demonstrate the existence of ϕ -features is, in fact, a very difficult task. In the following section, I define how to testify the existence of uninterpretable ϕ -features.

3 UNINTERPRETABLE ϕ -FEATURES: THE TESTIFICATION OF THEIR EXISTENCE

As is mentioned above, testifying the presence of ϕ -features is fairly laborious in English; however, some languages show overt agreement, which would serve as one piece of evidence for ϕ -features. In the attributive forms of adjectives, uninterpretable features are assumed to capture the inflection of adjectives. Let us take a look at the examples from Portuguese. In Portuguese, adjectives need to be inflected in accordance with their head nouns.

- (6) a. **o** **gato** **bonito**
 the.MASC.SG cat.MASC.S beautiful.MASC.SG
 ‘the beautiful tomcat’
- b. **a** **gata** **bonita**
 the.FEM.SG cat.FEM.SG beautiful.FEM.SG
 ‘the beautiful cat’
- c. **os** **gatos** **bonitos**
 the.MASC.PL cat.MASC.PL beautiful.MASC.PL
 ‘the beautiful tomcats’
- d. **as** **gatas** **bonitas**
 the.FEM.PL cat.FEM.PL beautiful.SEM.PL
 ‘the beautiful cats’ (Hornstein *et al.* 2005: 291-292)

In all of the examples in (6), the adjectives are inflected according to their head nouns, respectively. In the field of generative grammar, this agreement phenomenon is accounted for by assuming that nouns and adjectives have ϕ -features, and that the features for the former is interpretable, and those for the latter is uninterpretable. In the course of syntactic derivations, all uninterpretable features have to get values from interpretable features of the same type. The structure of the example in (6) should be as follows.



The uninterpretable ϕ -feature of *bonito* is valued by the matching interpretable ϕ -feature of the NP *gato*, and is inflected into the singular masculine form. Therefore, in the syntactic field, the existence of ϕ -features can be testified as follows:

- (8) An element has an uninterpretable ϕ -feature if it is inflected in accordance with its head noun.

In this paper, I assume that ϕ -features are in charge of agreement and that as in (8), inflected elements carry uninterpretable ϕ -features, as has been assumed in the tradition of generative grammar.

In the following sections, I will claim that the predication condition in (5) is to be applied to augmented absolute adjuncts. However, languages other than English generally do not have exactly the same sort of adjuncts. Instead, I will show the data of the categories in the predicative form, not the attributive form. This is because the forms of predicates in augmented absolute adjuncts are predicative.

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- (9) a. * With the fugitive *living*, there can be no victory.
 b. With the fugitive *alive*, there can be no victory.
- (10) a. * With John *drunken*, we should stay away from him.
 b. With John *drunk*, we should stay away from him.

The attributive adjective cannot be used, but the predicative adjective can be, as illustrated in (9) and (10). These examples show that only the predicative form is available in augmented absolute adjuncts. The data shown in the following section would serve as a piece of evidence, though indirect, to the claim that the predicates in augmented absolute adjuncts have uninterpretable ϕ -features, so that the predication phenomena in this type of adjuncts could be accounted for under the predication condition.

4 ELEMENTS COMPATIBLE IN AUGMENTED ABSOLUTE ADJUNCTS

This section provides the data of adjectives and participles in predicative forms and prepositions from other languages than English to show that the categories in predicative forms carry uninterpretable ϕ -features, so that the predication in the augmented absolute adjuncts can be accounted for under the condition in (5).

4.1 Adjectives

This section provides evidence for the claim that adjectives in predicative forms carry uninterpretable ϕ -features. As we have observed in (3), resultative predicates in Italian show overt agreement with their semantic subjects. In English, the resultative predicates have to appear in the predicative forms, as is shown in (11).

- (11) a. John sang the baby *asleep*.
 b. * John sang the baby *sleeping*.

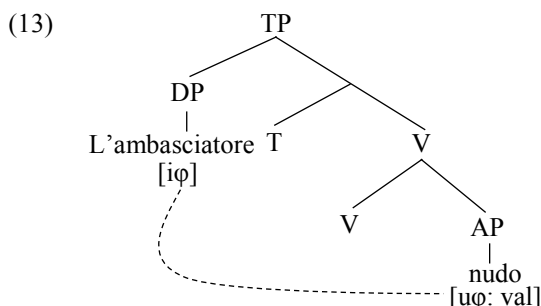
The predicative adjective *asleep* is available. However, the attributive adjective *sleeping* is not available as a resultative predicate. Furthermore, because the predicates are overtly inflected, it is reasonable to conclude that resultative predicates carry uninterpretable ϕ -features.

Similar to Spanish in (4), Italian depictive predicates are also inflected in accordance with their semantic subjects. Take (12) for example.

- (12) a. Giovanni ha mangiato la carne cruda.
 Giovanni have eat the meat.FEM.SG. raw.FEM.SG.
 ‘Giovanni ate the meat raw.’

- b. L'ambasciatore è arrivato nudo.
 the-ambassador.MASC.SG be arrive nude.MASC.SG
 'The ambassador arrived nude.'
 (Napoli 1992: 56)

In (12), the predicative adjective *cruda* 'raw' is inflected into the feminine singular form because of its semantic subject *la carne* 'the meat.' As for (12), the adjective *nudo* 'nude' is inflected into the masculine singular form. In both cases, the adjectives have the same form as their semantic subjects. As we have discussed in section 3, the elements that have uninterpretable ϕ -features show agreement with other elements in each sentence. Since the examples in (12) demonstrate the same agreement phenomenon, it should be reasonable to assume the existence of uninterpretable ϕ -features in adjectives in predicative form, and the features are valued by the matching interpretable features of their semantic subjects. The tentative structure for (12) would be as follows.



Other pieces of evidence for predicative adjectives carrying uninterpretable ϕ -features come from Greek and French. These languages also exhibit overt agreement of predicative adjectives.

(14) *Greek*

- a. O Pavlos odigise methismenos.
 the Pavlos drove drunk.MASC.SG.NOM.
 'Pavlos drove drunk.'
 (Giannakidou and Merchant 1999: 122)
- b. Vafo tin porta kokkini.
 paint.1.SG the door.FEM.SG.ACC red.FEM.SG.ACC.
 'I'm painting the door red.'
 (ibid.: 124)

(15) *French*

- a. Ce chat est petit.
 the cat.MASC.SG is small.MASC.SG.
 'The cat is small.'
 (Jones 1996: 311)
- b. J'ai connu Marie heureuse.
 I.have known Mary happy.FEM.SG.
 'I have known Mary happy'
 (Legendre 1997: 45)

In all of the examples in (14) and (15), the adjectives are inflected in accordance with

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their semantic subjects. These examples also indicate that adjectives in predicative forms carry uninterpretable ϕ -features.

4.2 Participles

4.2.1 Past participles Participles also show agreement with other elements. Italian is a good example. See (16) for example.

- (16) a. Maria è stata invitata.
 Maria has been.FEM. invited.FEM.
 ‘Maria has been invited.’ (Burzio 1986: 152)
- b. Giovanni è arrivato.
 Giovanni has arrived.MASC.
 ‘Giovanni has arrived.’ (ibid.: 53)
- c. Giovanni la_i ha accusata t_i.
 Giovanni her has accused.FEM.
 ‘Giovanni has accused her.’

In (16), the past participle *invitata* ‘invited’ is inflected in accordance with the matrix subject *Maria*, which is a common name for girls. On the other hand, in (16), the subject is *Giovanni*, which a typical male name; therefore, the participle is inflected into the masculine form. An interesting case is (16). The participle is inflected into the feminine form. If a direct object is included, the past participle is inflected in accordance not with the matrix subject but with the direct object. Considering these examples, it is reasonable to conclude that past participles have uninterpretable ϕ -features.

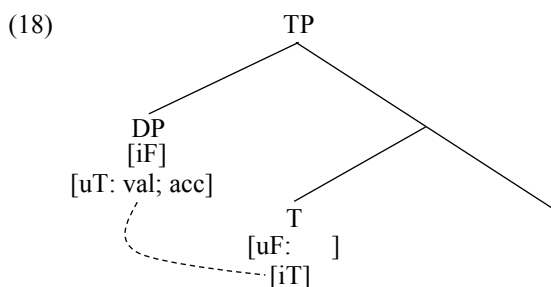
4.2.2 Present participles In the case of present participles, things do not go as we have expected. Present participles in Italian do not show overt agreement with other elements.

- (17) a. Scusate, la signorina sta cantando .
 sorry the lady is singing
 ‘Excuse me, the lady is singing.’
 (<http://context.reverso.net/traduzione/italiano-inglese/sta+cantando.>)
- b. Greg Dulli sta cantando a casa mia.
 Greg Dulli is singing in apartment my
 ‘Greg Dulli is singing in my apartment.’ (ibid.)

(17) has a feminine noun, and (17) has a masculine noun. These two examples do not have the nouns of the same type, but the form of the participle does not vary. It seems that present participles do not carry uninterpretable features.

However, their existence can be testified in a theoretical manner from the perspective of Case-checking. In the minimalist program, Case is the manifestation of feature valuation. In Pesetsky and Torrego (2004), structural Cases are instantiated as T(ense)-feature, and DPs have uninterpretable T-feature, whereas verbs and T-head carry matching interpretable T-feature. When an uninterpretable T feature on a DP is valued by a verb, the DP has an accusative case. In the case of the T-feature being valued by T, the structural Case of a DP is instantiated as a nominative.

In the course of Agreement, there is one crucial condition that each element needs to satisfy: the Activation Condition (Chomsky 2000), which states that an element has to have an uninterpretable feature to be visible for Agreement. For example, in Case-checking, the existence of the T-feature is insufficient for Case checking. In order to induce Agreement, a verb and T also have to have uninterpretable features. The concrete illustration is shown in (18).



Then, what is the uninterpretable feature [uF] of a verb and a T-head? The following examples give us one clue:

- (19) a. Pierre mange la viande crue.
 Peter eat.3.SG the meat raw
 'Peter eats the meat raw.'
 b. Tu manges la viande crue.
 you eat.2.SG the meat raw
 'You eat the meat raw.'
- (Legandre 1997: 45)

The verbs in these examples are inflected in accordance with the matrix subjects. From these examples, we might be able to assume that a verb and a T-head carry an uninterpretable ϕ -feature, and this type of feature is employed in the Case-checking relation.

Turning back to present participles, they also have the ability to assign accusative case to their direct objects, which means that present participles have an interpretable T-feature and an uninterpretable ϕ -feature. Therefore, it will be plausible to assume that present participles carry an uninterpretable feature.

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4.3 Prepositions

Prepositions are also difficult elements when it comes to the issue of whether they carry ϕ -features. However, as we have discussed in the section of present participles, Case-checking ability also plays a crucial part in prepositions. As have been argued in the traditional literature of generative grammar, prepositions have the ability to “assign” structural prepositional Case. Let us see some examples below.

Some languages such as Polish show the Case realization in the complements of prepositions.

- (20) a. Jan jest na wakacjach.
 Jan is on holidays.LOC
 ‘Jan is on vacation.’
 b. Jan pojechał na wakacje.
 Jan went on holidays.ACC
 ‘Jan went on vacation.’ (Citko 2014: 141)

The examples in (20) clearly show that Polish has a realization of Case-marking by prepositions. Case-marking differs in terms of the meaning that the PPs represent: In a locative meaning, the complement has a locative case, and an accusative case emerges in the case of a directional meaning. From the examples above, we conclude that prepositions also have the ability to check a feature for Case-checking; therefore, we can also assume that prepositions carry an uninterpretable ϕ -feature, as in the case of present participles.

4.4 Interim Summary

In section 4, we have seen some pieces of evidence that adjectives, participles and prepositions carry uninterpretable ϕ -features, suggesting that the predication condition in (5) can be applicable to augmented absolute adjuncts.

5 ELEMENTS INCOMPATIBLE IN AUGMENTED ABSOLUTE ADJUNCTS

The gist of the previous section is that elements compatible in augmented absolute adjuncts are all equipped with uninterpretable ϕ -features, and the predication condition in (5) may be applicable to the adjuncts. Section 5 focuses on the elements that are not allowed in augmented absolute adjuncts—that is, nouns, verbs, and adverbs—and discusses the reason why these lexical categories are banned in this type of adjunct.

5.1 Nouns

As we have observed in section 1, nouns are not allowed in augmented absolute adjuncts.

- (21) a. * John returned from the battle field **with himself *a war hero***.
 (=2))
 b. * Mary was accused of the incident **with herself *the criminal***.
 (=2))

In (21), the phrase *a war hero* acts as a predicate in the adjunct, and in (21), *the criminal* is a predicate. In both cases, nouns are employed as predicates, and neither of the sentences is grammatical.

These examples are nicely accounted for under the predication condition. It has been assumed that nouns are equipped with complete ϕ -features (Chomsky 2000, 2001). This means that nouns have interpretable ϕ -features and no uninterpretable ϕ -features because a ϕ -feature is a bundle of Person-feature, Number-feature, and Gender-feature, which are inherent properties of a noun. The condition in (5) requires that predicates should have an uninterpretable ϕ -feature so that predication can be established between the predicates and their semantic subjects. Nouns do not have an uninterpretable ϕ -feature. This is why nouns are not allowed in augmented absolute adjuncts, and the examples in (21) are ungrammatical.

However, indefinite nouns act as predicates in some cases such as complements of copular verbs. In such cases, the nouns are inflected in accordance with the subjects. Let us see French examples in (22).

- (22) a. Jean est étudiant.
 Jean is student.SING.MASC
 'Jean is a student.'
 b. Marie est étudiante.
 Marie is student.SING.FEM.
 'Marie is a student.'

In (22), *étudiant* 'a student' is inflected into the singular masculine form because of its semantic subject *Jean*, which is a typical name for men. On the other hand, *étudiante* in (22) is the singular feminine form. From these examples, some nouns seem to have uninterpretable ϕ -features.

In order to claim that nouns are still generally unavailable as predicates in augmented absolute adjuncts, I assume Carlson's (1977) generalization, which maintains that indefinite nouns are individual-level predicates. Stump (1985) argues that augmented absolute adjuncts are interpreted as stage-level predicates; therefore, that properties of these two types of predicates are not compatible with each other. One piece of evidence for this claim comes from the following example of individual-level adjectives. *Tall* is generally an individual level predicate. This adjective should be accepted in augmented absolute adjuncts, but it is not available.

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- (23) * Steve could touch the ceiling with himself tall.

Therefore, the examples of augmented absolute adjuncts with indefinite nominal predicates are judged to be ungrammatical.

5.2 Verbs

This subsection focuses on the reason why verbs are banned in augmented absolute adjuncts. The example is repeated in (24).

- (24) * **With the reeds now *chant and shout***, Bowie released an assemblage of
blats and growls and yells. (=2))

In sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, I have claimed that the ability to check Case-feature is a piece of evidence for the existence of an uninterpretable ϕ -feature in present participles and prepositions. If the discussion is on the right track, verbs should be allowed in the adjuncts, because they also have the ability to check the accusative Case-feature.

In this subsection, however, I argue that the predicates and their semantic subjects in augmented absolute adjuncts form a small clause, and since small clauses lack the tense of a finite clause, only the tenseless elements can appear in this type of adjuncts. Since verbs are tensed elements in finite clauses, they are not allowed in augmented absolute adjuncts. Therefore, the example in (24) is not a counter-argument to the condition in (5).

The first distinction between small clauses and finite clauses relates to topicalization. Small clauses do not allow the elements to topicalize; however, finite clauses do permit topicalization. Observe (25).

- (25) a. * John considers [_{sc} guilty_i Mary t_i].
b. I believe that this book_i you should read t_i. (Tanaka 2016: 281)

The examples in (25) illustrate that the predicate *guilty* cannot be topicalized inside the small clause, but the object *this book* can be topicalized to the initial position of the finite clause. Turning to augmented absolute adjuncts, they show the same grammaticality as the small clauses. See (26).

- (26) a. * With asleep_i the children t_i, Mary watched TV.
b. * Asleep_i with the children t_i, Mary watched TV.

Both examples in (26) show that the predicate *asleep* cannot be topicalized in the adjuncts.

The second distinction is on binding. The reflexive in the subject position of the small clauses can take as its antecedent an element outside of the clause. On the other hand, in the finite clauses, reflexives cannot be in the subject position of the clause.

- (27) a. Susan_i proved [_{sc} *her_i / herself_i guilty].
 b. John_i thinks that he_i / *himself_i is guilty.

In the small clause in (27), the reflexive *herself* can take the main clause subject *Susan* as its antecedent. In the case of the finite clause in (27), the reflexive *himself* cannot be used as the subject of the sentence. Augmented absolute adjuncts show the same behavior as small clauses.

- (28) Jonathan_i came back with *him_i / himself_i injured.

In (28), the pronoun *him* cannot take *Jonathan* as its antecedent, but the reflexive *himself* can.

The examples in (26) and (28) demonstrate the same grammaticality as the examples with small clauses, thus suggesting that augmented absolute adjuncts have the same properties as small clauses. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that augmented absolute adjuncts have a small clause structure; as such, that verbs are not allowed in the adjuncts.

5.3 Adverbs

Adverbs are not allowed in augmented absolute adjuncts.

- (29) * Hold the pillow overhead and stand with feet widely. (= (2)d)

Adverbs have generally been thought not to take argument DPs in the syntactic literature, because they do not modify nouns but other categories such as verbs and adjectives. The French examples in (30) show that the adverbs are not inflected in accordance with the subject nouns in the sentences.

- (30) a. Jean est *bruyamment* sorti de la piece.
 Jean be noisily gone-out of the room
 ‘Jean went out of the room noisily.’ (Bonami et al. 2004: 154)
 b. Les enfants ont *bruyamment* applaudi le clown.
 the children have noisily applauded the clown.
 ‘The children applauded the clown noisily.’ (ibid.: 179)

Moreover, unlike prepositions, adverbs do not check Case-features. Let us suppose

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that adverbs have an uninterpretable ϕ -feature and can check Case-features just like prepositions. If this supposition is correct, we would find the following simple case ungrammatical.

- (31) John walked *slowly* in the park.

The example in (31) has two DPs: *John* and *the park*. The Case-features of these DPs are checked by the T-head and the preposition *in*. If the adverb *slowly* has the ability to check the Case-feature, there should be one more DP in the sentence so that the uninterpretable ϕ -feature of the adverb can be valued. Since the sentence has only two DPs, the sentence would be ungrammatical under the assumption that adverbs carry an interpretable Case-feature and an uninterpretable ϕ -feature because an uninterpretable feature left unvalued leads to the violation of the Principle of Full Interpretation.

- (32) *The Principle of Full Interpretation*
All the elements must be legible at interfaces. (Chomsky 1981)

Therefore, it should be natural to assume that adverbs do not have uninterpretable ϕ -features. We can account for the reason why the examples such as (29) are ungrammatical, that is, because of the lack of an uninterpretable ϕ -feature in adverbs. The lack of an uninterpretable ϕ -feature is not compatible with the condition in (5).

6 CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have argued that the predicates in the augmented absolute constructions include uninterpretable ϕ -features, and that the condition on secondary predication that I proposed in Yamaguchi (2015) can be applied to augmented absolute adjuncts. The condition is repeated in (33).

- (33) *The Condition on Secondary Predication*
The predication relationship between a secondary predicate α and its semantic subject β can be established if:
a. α carries an uninterpretable ϕ -feature [$u\phi$], and β carries an interpretable ϕ -feature [$i\phi$];
b. the [$u\phi$] of α is valued by the [$i\phi$] of β .

In the discussion above, we have observed that adjectives, participles, and prepositions carry an uninterpretable ϕ -feature from empirical data or theoretical reasoning; therefore, the predication condition in (33) is satisfied. In the case of nouns, verbs and adverbs, the lack of uninterpretable ϕ -features and the structural property of the adjunct can account for the incompatibility of these categories in the adjunct

construction.

There is, however, a crucial example of the adjunct that seems to be difficult to explain under the condition in (33). Such an example contains a particle as the predicate in the adjunct. Observe (34).

- (34) Who is this geek running up and down the hallway **with glasses on**?
(COCA)

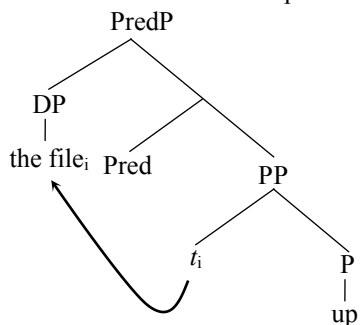
Under the discussion in sections 4.2 and 4.3, present participles and prepositions have uninterpretable ϕ -features since they can check Case-features of their argument DPs. If particles take arguments, and they can check Case-features, the explanation is applicable. However, this story may not be semantically successful since the function of particles is to transform the meaning of the verb or simply add a spatial meaning (Liles 1987: 16); therefore, it seems that particles do not take argument DPs. Moreover, see the examples in (35). They are the data of the so-called verb-particle constructions, and there is no prepositional object.

- (35) a. Do you want to come *along*? (O'Dowd 1998: 3)
b. Fred freaked *out*. (Jackendoff 2002: 69)

In (35), *along* and *out* function as particles. If these particles are followed by DPs, these examples should be ruled out because they do not take arguments. Therefore, the same account in sections 4.2 and 4.3 may not be syntactically applicable to particles.

However, some previous analyses argue (Kayne 1984 and others) that the object DP and the particle form a small clause with a functional head Pred, and that a verb-particle construction has the following structure:

- (36) a. The doctor looked the file up.
b.



(Svenonius 1994: 26)

If the analysis is correct, a verb-particle construction includes a small clause structure in the complement of the verb, and we have observed that augmented absolute adjuncts also have a small clause structure. I tentatively assume that particles induce

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the formation of the small clause, and that in order to form a small clause, particles have to establish predication with the DP in Spec, Pred, and it is an uninterpretable ϕ -feature that makes the predication possible. However, this is merely a stipulation, and I leave this issue unresolved for my future research.

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